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be a graceful irony of fate if America educates them, uses them, and sends them back in that capacity. After

all, God is great and His resourceful work can not be limited by a short-spanded vision of men.

## Hawaii's Experience with the Japanese

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IN 1902-1903 while in Japan furberish-  
ing my scanty knowledge of the Japanese language and getting in touch with conditions that influenced the movement of immigration to Hawaii and to the mainland of the United States, finding myself in Shibata, a town in the prefecture of Niigata where years before I had served as a missionary, I was surprised by a number of country folk calling upon me to carry personal messages of some importance to their relatives in the Hawaiian Islands. This led in time to an arrangement with the Home Department of the Japanese Government by which I toured under official supervision parts of the seven prefectures, whence the largest number of emigrants had set forth and gathered in writing something over 3,300 separate messages from the home folk to their oversea relatives. When I returned to Hawaii in 1903 to take up religious work among Japanese there, and shortly thereafter to succeed to the position of General Superintendent and Secretary of the Hawaiian Board of Missions, I visited all but one of the Island sugar plantations—the exception being a very small affair since discontinued—and succeeded in delivering a little more than one-third of these messages, the other two-thirds representing Japanese who had gone to the American mainland or died or changed their

names. This experience brought me into closest touch with industrial conditions in the Islands and with the inside of the entire question of Japanese immigration.

In considering any industrial phase of Hawaii's life, the climate which irresistibly solicits to out-of-doors must be kept in mind. Hence, although in 1903 housing conditions for Oriental laborers were in not a few plantations atrocious from a mainland point of view, they were not nearly as bad as they looked. The old time contract labor system which cursed Hawaii up to annexation, while no longer in force, had left survivals in the shape of a few unsocial if not cruel field bosses and in some places an atmosphere of coercion; but these soon disappeared under the influence of the American spirit. These reminiscences of past abuses occasioned here and there a local strike but without violence or destruction of property and quietly ended through the reasonableness of Island capital.

Larger opportunities for amassing what to Japanese farm laborers seemed a fortune were in 1903 and subsequent years luring thousands from Hawaii to California. That was the day of somewhat unscrupulous and often grafting emigration companies which sprang up by the dozen in various parts of Japan, and won a golden harvest for their promoters. Hearsay affirmed that some of these were not averse to the practice of reaping a crop

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of fees from emigrants by persuading them to go to Hawaii and then securing another by enticing them farther east. When, however, the San Francisco school agitation over the Japanese arose in 1906 and finally issued in the "Gentlemen's Agreement," these exploiting emigration companies lapsed and Japanese, passported to Hawaii, were no longer able to enter California.

There have been two major strike movements among Japanese workmen in Hawaii, one in 1909 and the other in 1920. Both were conspicuously peaceful. When it is borne in mind that millions of dollars of damage might easily have been wrought by these plantation hands by setting fire to cane fields, the pacific conduct and self-control of Oriental workmen in times of labor disputes in Hawaii is all the more noteworthy. Both strikes were as a matter of course charged by capital to labor agitators. But the agitator is powerless without a grievance. In the earlier of these two disputes the Japanese struck for wages equal to that paid to Portuguese for the same work. Portuguese, being whites, were paid on what might be called a white standard and Japanese on an Oriental standard. The strike was lost but the plantations promptly set to work to devise wage scales which included bonuses in proportion to the selling price of sugar, and to extend the letting out of field work and in some cases of mill work by contract, both of which ensured far larger financial returns to the workmen. They also began to give most intelligent attention to proper housing, to measures of hygiene and to the addition of welfare features calculated to make the lot of the plantation laborer desirable. In effect, therefore, the strike was a victory for labor as it started the leading plantations upon a new and highly commendable road toward the goal of a unity of

interests on the part of both capital and labor in the Islands.

In my round of the plantations in 1903-1904 I found very few Japanese who really planned to make Hawaii their permanent home. Almost all who could do so sent their children to Japan for education. The outlook of these laborers was typically Japanese. Their Buddhist temples were frankly centers of Nipponese influence, aiming in every way to maintain and cultivate Yamato Damashii.<sup>1</sup> A number of families with many children, however, sadly confessed to me that hope of returning to their native land was forlorn indeed, as wages just enabled them to keep all mouths filled and left no margin for the expense of getting home, let alone savings for support after reaching there.

With the years a changed sentiment grew into power unconsciously. This was due in very large part, I have little doubt, to the leaven of Christian teaching which included the propaganda of loyalty to the nation in which an ever-increasing number of Japanese were perforce certain to make their permanent home. Besides this propaganda which was steadily pushed by Christian Japanese evangelists, after 1906 publicists in Japan itself, sensing the danger to peaceful Japan-American relations that might be caused by a large group of people in Hawaii alien at heart, set themselves to urge their countrymen in the Islands to cultivate Americanism and fit themselves and their children to become loyal citizens of the Republic. To this end some of the ablest men in Japan, including the Head of the Nishi Hongwanji sect of Buddhists, the most popular denomination of that religion in Hawaii, visited the Islands and addressed vast audiences enforcing this message with all the eloquence

<sup>1</sup> The spirit of Yamato or of the very heart of Japan.

at their command and with pertinent historic allusions so forceful to the Japanese mind. This movement fell naturally in with the well-nigh irresistible influence which is exerted by America upon immigrants of all races and which woos them to surrender all thought of returning to their country and to make America their real homeland. Hawaii excels the mainland in creating this influence. By 1910 this sentiment "Stay in America and make it your country" had become dominant among Japanese in the Islands. Children were increasingly kept by their parents and educated for American life.

This campaign to lead Island Japanese to become Americans at heart, synchronous with the growing confession by capital of the solidarity of its own and labor's interests, a confession expressed in deeds not words, was pushed still farther after California's unfortunate anti-Japanese legislation of 1913. The opening of the Great War only increased the volume of this movement. By 1915 definite plans for Americanizing not only Island Japanese but also all other aliens, as well as for fostering a more intelligent citizenship among native born, were instituted and put into effect. To these the Japanese responded well. When the Hawaiian National Guard was enlarged young Japanese enlisted and the tide of loyalty rose very high.

America's entrance into the war brought to the Islands as well as to other parts of the United States not only intensification of nationalistic spirit but also the fierce intolerance which culminated in the enactment by Congress of the Sedition Law. Hawaii has ever since its entrance into the Union been more glowingly loyal than the mainland. More than a year after the war ended its Yale men voted with but two protesting voices against the use

of the most popular song of the college, because it was married to German music—a unique majority among Yale alumni and thoroughly characteristic of Island spirit. While no part of the population was more loyal to the nation during the great struggle than the Japanese, it was inevitable that the narrowness of the nationalistic spirit evoked by the war would if uncombated finally rouse itself against the large number of Japanese, who by the terms of law interpreted by the Federal District Court in Honolulu were incapable of becoming full American citizens.

Over in California this sentiment of opposition was being pushed again to the extreme by the group whose unit may well be called the professional Japanese hater. Every advantage was taken of the nationalistic wave by this coterie and the campaign there was in full career as soon as the armistice gave the people a pause from war enthusiasm to make plans for this allied species of martial spirit. In the absence of a united Christian protest to this manifestation of race prejudice, the pendulum of public opinion swung over to the limit registered in the election of November, 1920.

Unfortunately for Hawaii the two experienced editors of its leading dailies left the Territory during the war for service, one in Japan and the other under the American Red Cross in Siberia, and their places fell to men in sympathy with anti-Japanese agitation. At once the friendly tone which had characterized these journals so long that it had become a cherished tradition was abandoned, and every possible chance seemed to be taken to antagonize and nag the Japanese people.

The Buddhist school situation offered a very convenient and inevitable opportunity. As far back as 1904 it

became clear to those in close touch with the situation that the Buddhist schools were a menace to the higher interests of the Territory. It was natural and deserved nothing but praise that the religious leaders of the Japanese should be solicitous for the interests of their countrymen transplanted from the homeland to far-off Hawaii and deprived of the restraints of old time customs. Hence several sects of Buddhists sent priests oversea to care for their parishioners. If the Japanese had been suffered at their own expense to maintain their religious institutions the results would have been far healthier, but a number of the best plantations built temples for the Buddhist sects and on occasion subsidized the clergy. When it was proposed to open schools to teach Japanese children the language of their parents, using hours before and after public school sessions, the Buddhists pressed into the movement and too often encouraged by the financial support of the plantation managers erected schools under their own management to help supply the demand. These Buddhist schools from the first were centers of pro-Japanese and often of anti-American influence. It was carefully and repeatedly pointed out by the leaders of Christian work in Hawaii that this policy of subsidizing Buddhist temples and schools was unwise but plantation managers were deaf to all warnings.

Finally the progressive Japanese themselves recognized the danger in these Buddhist institutions and loyal to America began to establish independent non-religious schools to enable their children to use both English and Japanese and thus to function more largely in the inevitably developing relationships between America and Japan. In order to counteract the pernicious influence of these Buddhist institutions the Hawaiian Board had

encouraged its Japanese evangelists to maintain schools for teaching Japanese, but as soon as this independent non-religious movement began actually to function, the Board threw all its influence in its favor and the Christian Japanese united with the supporters of these schools in an endeavor to lead the Buddhists to come into the combination. By this time Buddhist interests had become vested and temple positions very valuable financially, so that this endeavor failed.

Inevitably the existence of these schools teaching Japanese and especially the leaning of the Buddhist institutions towards Japan offered a golden opportunity to the exaggerated nationalistic spirit that followed the war. The newspapers raised the hue and cry against all Japanese schools and a bill aimed at them was introduced into the Legislature in 1919. The fight waxed hot, and though the bill was not carried, the defeat acted as a boomerang because of the un wisdom of the Buddhist opposition to it. The manner of this opposition laid these religionists under suspicion of anti-Americanism. The press never let up for a moment harping upon the alleged disloyalty of the Buddhists and of other influential Japanese to American institutions.

This nagging, the tone and expression of which were often insulting to Japanese, however loyal to America they were, finally resulted in influencing the industrial situation. Little by little things went from bad to worse until the strike of 1920 was fairly forced by the ill temper aroused. The grievances of the laborers though real were by no means sufficient to have caused the break. The strike was doomed from the outset to failure. It cost both sides a great amount of money and it left its sting.

Without question its ultimate result will be such a fair consideration of the

matters in dispute that the plantation management will remove whatever industrial causes the strike had. An extensive system of welfare work is planned, and all the resources of the most scientific and, humanitarially speaking, the wisest great agricultural combination in the world will doubtless be utilized to make the workers realize that they are a part of the business and that capital and labor must fraternize and pull together in bona-fide unity.

One unfortunate result of this disturbance was the effect it produced upon a number of the hitherto staunch friends of the Japanese in Hawaii. The strike menaced these men's interests. They thought the workers ungrateful in striking when their earnings were unusually high. The money nerve being jolted, they went over into the anti-Japanese camp.

Another more important loss to Hawaii was a large emigration of American citizens of Japanese parentage. Every year now an increasing number of Japanese, who because of American birth are citizens of the United States, reach voting age. Many of these are well educated, thoughtful, earnest young fellows, as good stuff for the making of loyal, intelligent citizens as men of any racial stock. The war also led to the naturalization of a number of young Japanese who had served in the American army. The press attitude toward the people of their fathers was so unjust and extreme that a considerable number of the very best American citizens of Japanese parentage left for the mainland states, because they believed that the embittered sentiment of Hawaii would prevent their own industrial advancement.

There can be no question that this recrudescence of anti-Japanism in the Islands was in part due to the unfortunate policy of Japan's militarist government in the Far East. The twenty-one articles of 1915 through which

Japan proposed to absorb the sovereignty of China, the Ishii-Lansing agreement, read by Japan's representatives in an innocent-looking way in America but interpreted by her statesmen in the Far East as inexorably to favor Japanese paramountcy, the secret agreements wrung from England and France in the dark days of 1917, the Shantung articles of the Versailles treaty and the disgraceful story of the Mikado's forces in Siberia developed profound distrust of Japan's good faith and dislike of a nation guilty of a policy so essentially Teutonic.

But Hawaii can not do without the Japanese unless our Government allows her gradually to replace these skillful laborers with Chinese. It is too late to disfranchise the more than 20,000 young Americans of Japanese parentage. They can be largely driven out economically and scattered over the States, although this method of riddance is hardly likely to be employed. Their participation in the government of Hawaii may be avoided by persuading Congress to give to the Territory government by a commission appointed in Washington. This has been advocated at times in army and navy circles but money considerations have not as yet proved powerful enough so to debauch the consciences of white Americans there as to lead them to acquiesce in such an unwise and unjust solution of the problem.

The human way out, which is also Christian, is to treat the Japanese as brothers. A very good beginning at this has been made. With their welfare program the plantations lean toward it as good policy. Hawaii knows by experience that the Oriental is as assimilable and as readily Americanized as the average Occidental. At present in our home a young American girl of Chinese parentage lives as one of the family. She attends the local High School and is considered one of the

brightest scholars in her class. In a few years she will vote. After months of observation of her I should as quickly trust her intelligence, wisdom and moral power to cast her ballot for the common weal as the average American girl of Anglo-Saxon blood of the same age. Such instances Hawaii can duplicate by the hundred among American citizens of Oriental extraction. One of the most useful and thoroughly reliable young men I know in Hawaii, a graduate of one of our eastern universities, is a Japanese prevented from becoming a citizen because of birth in Japan, some months before his parents moved to Hawaii. He is a bulwark of Americanism in the Islands. If he could be naturalized, as he greatly desires, he would be one of the most valuable citizens of any race there.

The difficulty with this whole problem of the Japanese in the United States arises from the decision of some of our courts that they are ineligible to naturalization. For some years the Takao Ozawa case has been before the Supreme Court awaiting the decision of this question which has more court pronouncements in favor of eligibility than against it. If once our country should put Orientals on a plane with other aliens and admit them to citizenship after their being duly qualified, they would cease to be a makeweight in politics. As long as we discriminate against them—a fundamental human injustice—we shall have trouble not with them, for they are not trouble makers, but over them.

With the steadily growing trend of Americans away from the country to the city, we may as a nation soon be in acute distress for lack of farm laborers. This distress Japan and China can alleviate. A wise statesmanship would plan for a measured and well distributed immigration of Orientals into sections where such workers are needed. We took the Indians' land because

they were not developing it. If we in turn fail to make the most of our broad acres because our people will not till the soil, we array against ourselves like economic forces which can not eventually be kept from supplying man power to meet the demand of physical nature for development. The California method is anti-human, anti-Christian, anti-fraternal and is doomed to be supplanted. This is God's world and He has a way of working irresistibly toward His goal of one great human family. Peaceful progress thereto can be made if we will. If we will not, cataclysmic movement in the same direction may be nature's way of getting there.

While this is true, it is also undeniable that immigration should be regulated so as not to disturb unduly economic conditions in our country. Our present haphazard system should give way to one in which the advice of experts should be sought and immigration encouraged for definite ends. Hawaii is a standing demonstration of America's power to absorb relatively an enormous immigration and yet maintain a dominant Americanism. Because 109,269 of its total population of 255,512 are Japanese it is frequently referred to as Japanese in character and civilization. This is absolutely foreign to the truth.

Having lived for years in Greater Boston, New York, Chicago and San Francisco, I found Hawaii during my fourteen years there as distinctively American as any of these other centers. It behooves our countrymen to have faith in America. Our spirit especially where it exists in purity as it does in Hawaii is irresistible. European and Asiatic alike are charmed with it and get quickly to work to make it their own. After all Americanism at its best is brotherhood and where brotherhood is honestly worked it is the strongest human force on earth.